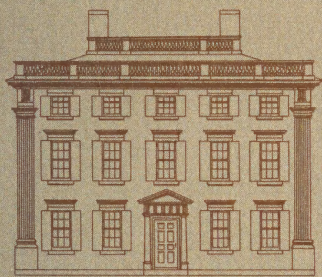


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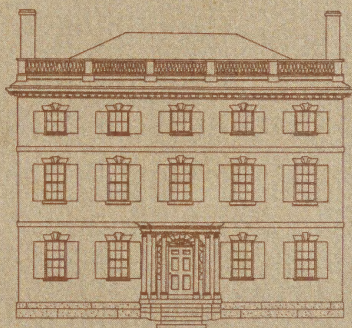
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
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EDITED BY

Anne Farnam and Bryant F. Tolles, Jr.

Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts  1978

THE JOHN WARD HOUSE

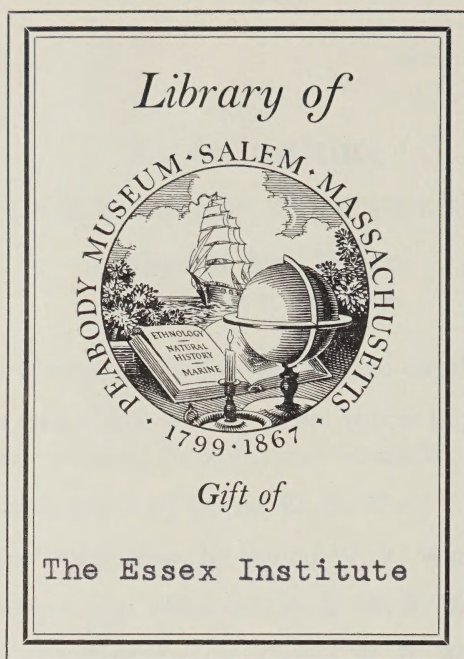


BY BARBARA M. AND GERALD W. R. WARD

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Charity Fund, Boston*

COVER ILLUSTRATION: The John Ward House (1684), Essex Institute grounds,
front and side exterior view. Photograph by Richard Merrill, 1975.

The John Ward House

Historic House Booklet Number One



BY BARBARA M. AND GERALD W. R. WARD

FOREWORD BY BRYANT F. TOLLES, JR.

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Foreword

FOUNDED in 1848 by the merging of the Essex Historical Society (incorporated in 1821) and the Essex County Natural History Society (incorporated in 1836), the Essex Institute is one of America's oldest and most venerable regional historical societies. The Institute is supported almost entirely by private funds, and is composed of the James Duncan Phillips research library, a museum of American fine and decorative arts, and a group of seven period houses, six of which are open to the public. The Institute's collections include books, pamphlets, periodicals, graphic materials, furniture, paintings, and other decorative and historic objects associated with the civil history and the people of Essex County, Massachusetts, since the early seventeenth century. Through its varied treasures, collected over many generations, the Essex Institute is uniquely able to recount the life and culture of one of the most historically important areas in the northeastern United States.

Of its many fascinating possessions and programs, the Essex Institute has been perhaps most widely associated with the maintenance and interpretation of its historic house properties. One of the nation's first private organizations to enter the field of historic preservation, the Institute acquired and relocated its first historic house property—the John Ward House (1684)—in 1910, and has added to its collection of representative local domestic architecture over the years since. Today, the Institute boasts a nationally significant group of historic dwellings which span sequentially the history of residential architecture in Salem from the era of its early settlement and growth in the seventeenth century to the mid-Victorian period.

Three years ago, under the guidance of my predecessor, David B. Little, a project was initiated to research and compile an updated series of illustrated articles treating each of the Institute's houses. From January 1974 to April 1976 these articles, written by Boston University doctoral

candidates Gerald W. R. Ward and Barbara M. Ward, appeared individually in the Institute's quarterly *Historical Collections*. Now, thanks to a generous grant from the McCarthy Family Foundation Charity Fund, it is possible to make the Ward articles, expanded and supplemented with other material, available in reasonably priced pamphlets for general distribution.

None of this, of course, could have been possible without the painstaking efforts of the authors; the museum and library staff; my assistant, Katherine W. Richardson; and my coeditor, Institute curator Anne Farnam. We hope that the readers of these pamphlets will profit educationally from them and will experience the same enjoyment from the subject matter as did those of us involved in the editorial process. The printed word or the photograph cannot do complete justice, however, to the houses themselves; they and their rich contents must be directly experienced for one to appreciate their merit as documents of the American past.

BRYANT F. TOLLES, JR.
Director, Essex Institute

AUTHORS

BARBARA MCLEAN WARD received her A.B. degree, *summa cum laude*, in American history from Connecticut College in 1972. Currently she is a doctoral candidate in the American and New England Studies Program at Boston University, where she is concentrating on American religious and social history, with additional emphasis on American fine and decorative arts. During the academic year 1972-73 and the fall semester of 1974, she was a Boston University American Studies Scholar at the Essex Institute. She was also a summer house guide at the Institute in 1973 and 1974, and was a part-time staff member working on the costume collection in the spring of 1974. During 1975-76 Mrs. Ward was a research assistant in the American Arts office at the Yale University Art Gallery.

GERALD W. R. WARD was awarded an A.B. degree, *cum laude*, with a concentration in American national government, from Harvard University in 1971. Presently he is a doctoral candidate in the American and New England Studies Program at Boston University, where the emphasis of his studies is on American art and architecture. During the summers of 1973 and 1974 Mr. Ward was a National Endowment for the Humanities Museum Fellow at the Essex Institute, at which time he researched and compiled articles for this historic house booklet series. During the academic year 1973-74 he was involved in practicum courses at the Institute as a cataloguer of the wallpaper collection and as an editorial assistant. In 1974-75 he was an N.E.H. Fellow in the Garvan and Related Collections office of the Yale University Art Gallery. Currently he is working on his doctoral thesis.

The John Ward House

IN the following essay we have attempted to present a social and architectural history of the John Ward House, a historic dwelling owned and operated by the Essex Institute in Salem, Massachusetts. Our interest has been the people who built, owned, and lived in the house, as well as its structural plan, detail, and significance as an example of late seventeenth-century New England architecture. The house was extensively restored between 1910 and 1912, and we have also been concerned with the extent and validity of this important early instance of historic preservation in America.

Considering the high level of documentation of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Salem, John Ward and his family left remarkably few traces in the records. They were apparently a humble family of modest means. John Ward, who built the house after 1684, was a currier, his son Benjamin a mariner, and his grandson a shoemaker. The dwelling passed out of the hands of the Ward family in 1816 and was used as a bakery for forty years, before becoming a tenement during the last half of the nineteenth century. In many ways the house has a typical social history of a seventeenth-century building, with the exception that the Essex Institute had the foresight to preserve it in 1910.

Unfortunately, George Francis Dow, then Secretary of the Essex Institute, left few records of his restoration of the house. In the second part of this essay, we have brought to light some facts concerning the quantity of materials and the workmen who used them in the carpentry, masonry, and iron work that was necessary to restore the house to Dow's conception of an early Salem dwelling. While all sources seem to indicate that further digging in the Salem records would bring to light little or no more information about the John Ward family, there is every possibility that notes made by Dow are now resting in the col-

lection of a museum, library, or historical society. We have not been able to find them, and their discovery would prove most helpful.

We have attempted to make our narrative simple and straightforward. Much additional material has been included in the footnotes as being of importance but unnecessarily disruptive to the narrative.

I

The John Ward House was situated on the east side of Prison Lane, Salem, later to be known as St. Peter Street. From the records, it emerges that the Ward House lot was granted by the Salem authorities in 1649 to a Christopher Waller.¹ On July 14, 1664, Waller sold his lot for £85 sterling to James Browne, a glazier from Newbury. The lot then contained Waller's "dwelling house," comprised "aboute one acre," and was "bounded on y^e west with a lane or highways, on the South with some land of John & William Maston, & east with the land of John Gidney, & north with y^e land of Mathew Price."²

With Browne's death in 1676, the land descended to his wife Sarah. Over the next twenty years, Browne's land was to be divided into three sections, each passing through several hands before coming to rest in the possession of John Ward. Ward was to buy each section individually, and by 1696 had purchased the last section. He died possessed of all three in 1732.

The northern section was sold by Sarah (now Sarah Healey, after her remarriage) to Ezekiel Cheever of Salem on March 1, 1677/8.³ This property became tangled in a subsequent financial problem between Cheever and Hilliard Veren, Jr., also of Salem, and, in a manner not quite clear, it passed to Captain John Price, Veren's executor, on March

1. James Duncan Phillips, *Salem in the Seventeenth Century* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1933), p. 349.

2. Essex County Registry of Deeds, Book 2, Leaf 82a. We are indebted to the outline title search conducted for the Ward House lot by Sidney Perley in "Salem in 1700," *The Essex Antiquarian* 8(1904):70. We double-checked Perley's work and found it to be correct in every major particular. Our discussion in the first few paragraphs in Part I is really only a gloss on his invaluable efforts. Our main concern in this first section has been John Ward, his descendants, and the subsequent social history of the house. Perley has nothing to say about the architectural aspects of the house nor does he comment, of course, on the restoration.

3. Essex County Registry of Deeds, Book 4, Leaf 185.

13, 1684.⁴ On May 9, 1684, Price sold the land to John Ward for £13 10s.⁵ No mention of a house was made in the deed.

The central portion, upon which the John Ward House was eventually built, passed from Sarah Browne Healey to Joseph Hardy of Salem on May 2, 1677, for the consideration of £12 16s. Sarah describes the lot as “p^t of that land adjoining to the house I now live in, & is bounded with y^e streete or lane westerly,” and situated in the middle of the two other sections owned by her.⁶ On November 13, 1678, Hardy sold the central lot to Joseph Allen, a Salem mariner, for £13 15s.⁷ After Allen’s death in 1682, his widow Bethia sold the lot to John Ward of Salem, “currier,” for £18 in December 1684.⁸ No mention of buildings was made in the deed.

The southern section also had several owners before becoming the property of Ward. From Sarah Browne Healey the section went to Richard Pytharg, saddler of Salem, in 1682 and from Pytharg to the Reverend Samuel Cheever of Marblehead in 1694.⁹ Rev. Cheever sold the lot to John Ward on July 16, 1696.¹⁰ Again, no mention of buildings or a dwelling was made, and it seems clear that the original Waller house, and the house Sarah Browne Healey lived in (probably one and the same), had disappeared prior to 1684.

Of John Ward we know very little.¹¹ His gravestone, still visible in the Charter Street Burying Ground, indicates that he was born circa 1653. He was probably the son of Samuel and Abigail Ward of Marble-

4. Essex County Registry of Deeds, Book 6, Leaf 112; Book 4, Leaf 185; Book 4, Leaf 186. Ezekiel Cheever apparently transferred another lot to Hilliard Veren, with a house on it, in 1678, in consideration for £130 which he owed Veren. Sometime later Cheever bought some land, again with a house, from Veren, and mortgaged this with Veren for £80. At Veren’s death, this debt was still unpaid, and Veren’s executor repossessed this land. This was not the land that Cheever had purchased from Sarah Healey, as Perley assumes, but it seems that the lot on St. Peter Street also went to Veren’s estate as partial payment for Cheever’s debt.

5. Essex County Registry of Deeds, Book 7, Leaf 67.

6. Essex County Registry of Deeds, Book 4, Leaf 150.

7. Essex County Registry of Deeds, Book 5, Leaf 16.

8. Essex County Registry of Deeds, Book 7, Leaf 14.

9. Essex County Registry of Deeds, Book 7, Leaf 20, and Book 10, Leaf 23.

10. Essex County Registry of Deeds, Book 11, Leaf 142.

11. Determining anything about the life of John Ward is complicated by the fact that two other John Wards were alive in Salem during portions of our John Ward’s lifetime.

head, and baptized at the First Church in Salem in 1668.¹² A family tradition holds that he was born in London, and his family came to America in 1660 to escape the plague.¹³ His profession involved taking roughly tanned leather and making it soft and pliable for commercial purposes, and, in 1682, John Ward and Nathaniel Beadle were chosen as "Sealers of Leather" in Salem.¹⁴ Ward's name appears in Salem tax lists of the 1680's and 1690's,¹⁵ and we know that he refused to serve as a constable in 1690–1691.¹⁶ On November 22, 1689, he married Jehoadan Harvey in Marblehead, and their marriage produced seven children: Jehoadan (born 1690/1), John (1692), Elizabeth (1694), Benjamin (1698/9), Abigail (1700/1), Margaret (1703/4), and Mary (1706).¹⁷

12. Records of the First Church, Salem, transcript in the possession of the Essex Institute.

We can be certain of John Ward's birthdate from his gravestone, but it is only conjecture that he was baptized in Salem in 1668, at the age of fifteen. In that year Samuel Ward brought two children—a son John and an unnamed daughter—to be baptized at the First Church. An Abigail of Marblehead, generally supposed to be John Ward's mother, brought a number of children to be baptized after 1668, but at no time is her husband's name mentioned. Therefore, we do not have a strong connection between John Ward and Abigail, and John could easily have been baptized elsewhere at an earlier date. (See First Church Records.)

Samuel Ward was a prominent citizen of Marblehead. The only record of his wife, however, gives her name as Sarah, though Samuel could have been married more than once. If John Ward was Samuel's son, he received very little from him. Parts of Samuel's estate were left to sons Thomas and Samuel, and a daughter Mercy. The will is difficult to read but the names of several other children seem to be mentioned. As John Ward is mentioned in other probate records as the brother of Samuel, Thomas, and Lydia Ward, he may have been Samuel Ward's son. If so, he was virtually disinherited by his father, or received his share during his lifetime. However, we can find no other landholdings for John Ward other than the lots in Prison Lane. (See Essex County Probate Records, Volume 303, Leaf 25 and Docket #28928.)

13. E. S. Waters, "Genealogical Notes. Ward Family," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 17 (April 1880):180.

14. *Town Records of Salem, Massachusetts (1680–1691)* (Essex Institute, 1934) 3:65.

15. Salem Tax Records, Works Progress Administration typescript, Essex Institute. A John Ward appears in the records as early as 1682–1683, but it is difficult to determine his residence, as the constables changed so frequently and their jurisdictions are not clearly defined.

16. *Town Records of Salem* 3:242.

17. *Vital Records of Salem, Massachusetts, to the end of the year 1849*, 6 vols. (Essex Institute, 1916–1925), 3:473, and 2:388–393. The baptisms of the children have also been checked with the unedited copy of the First Church Records. All further vital statistics in this essay are drawn from the six volumes of Salem records unless otherwise noted.

From the Salem Commoners Records, it seems that his house stood prior to 1702 but after 1660.¹⁸

There were two Ward families in Salem; the family of Miles Ward attained some wealth and prominence while John Ward and his descendants appear to have been rather average people. Though some first names recur frequently, there appears to have been no connection between the two Ward families in Salem. It seems rather ironic that history and fate should combine to preserve the dwelling of the humble branch, and give it a significance it surely did not enjoy during its "natural" life.

John Ward died on October 7, 1732. In his will made the previous June, he bequeathed to his wife Jehoadan £20 with

the use and improvement of the best lower room in my dwelling house with the cellar under the said room and half the lean-to, and half of the land adjoining to my dwelling house with half the fruit;

and all his personal goods.¹⁹

His daughters, all married by this time, received £10 apiece, and his grandson John (son of his eldest son John, deceased by this time) was to receive £30 when he reached maturity. The remainder of the house and estate was granted to Benjamin, the oldest surviving son.

An inventory of the estate was filed in 1732, and while sketchy it is nonetheless illuminating. Listed are the following:

To one Dwelling House	£170--
To about half an Acre of Land	80--
To Silver Coin & bullion	138--
To Bonds £62 -- bills of Public Credit £6--10s	68-10--
To beds & bed furniture 20£ old Iron £4. .6	24-6--

18. Salem [Mass.] Commoner's Records, 1713-1739, in the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 36 (April 1900):175, 219. We have also looked at *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts* (Essex Institute, 1911-1921), which are complete through 1683 in eight volumes; the Works Progress Administration type-script of Salem Quarterly Court Records, 1683-1694; 54 volumes of Court Papers on file at the Essex County Court House; a group of "Miscellaneous Ancient Papers" stored at the Court House; and deed and probate records, without turning up any conclusive evidence about our John Ward.

19. Essex County Probate Records 319: Leaf 189-490, June 19, 1732.

To old wooden household stuff	£4..14	
old pewter	£3	7..14-
To old Brass	£3..10/	old books
2..5/ Chairs	£2.-..	7..15-..
To Glass & Earthen	5/	Corn 2
feucle [?]	£3..10/	5..15-..
To Woollen Apparel & Linnen		8..15-..

The total value of the estate was £510 15s.²⁰

The “old pewter” and the chairs may appear again in Benjamin’s inventory of 1775 but it is, of course, impossible to tell. John’s inventory is interesting for what it does list, for what it considers important. It appears that the house was furnished with simple chairs, perhaps a table or two, and the bed mentioned. No significant large pieces, such as a court or press cupboard, are mentioned, and we can only assume that John Ward did not have the means or the inclination to purchase such high-style pieces.

Benjamin, who inherited half the house at his father’s death, had married Deborah Gillingham in 1724, and possibly had been sharing the house with his parents since that time. Benjamin and Deborah were to have four children, including Benjamin, born in 1725, and Deborah, born in 1731, both of whom will figure in our narrative later. Their other two children, John and Martha, disappear from the records after their births.²¹ Their mother died in 1736, shortly after the birth of a fourth child, and Benjamin does not appear to have remarried. A mariner, he lived in the Ward House until his death in 1774. It is hard to be certain of any of his activities as at the same time another Benjamin, a descendent of Miles Ward, was a much more prominent Salem mariner. To help confuse the issue, both men are sometimes referred to as Captain.

The 1775 inventory of Benjamin’s estate is very complete, and although it does not provide a room by room breakdown, it does give us some indication of the furnishings of the house.²² Benjamin appears to have been a reasonably successful man. His “mansion house” and land were valued at £240, and his other landholdings totaled £223. He had

20. Essex County Probate Records 319: Leaf 354, November 3, 1732.

21. *Vital Records of Salem* 2:389–391.

22. Essex County Probate Records 351: Leaf 232–234.

£22 of silver, gold, and cash, and some twenty people owed him money at the time of his death. His mariner's equipment included a compass, a navigation book, a quadrant, a marlin spike, scales, a calendar, a fish house, and "sundries in a sea chest." Other tools and implements included nails, a salt box, old iron, old casks, saw sets, a hoe, an ax, saws, cod and mackerel leads, a meal chest, and "one compass rectified." Kitchen items listed were red earthenware, an iron kettle, a brass kettle, a tin coffee pot, iron candle sticks, a sugar tub, two delft bowls, a frying pan, fireplace equipment, three knives and forks, a vinegar cruet, and old pewter. Among the wooden and other furnishings, some of which may have belonged to John Ward, were "an old case draws," an old square table, a walnut oval table, a white square table, six leather chairs, eleven black chairs, a great old chair, three chests, three bedsteads, two trunks, a looking glass, and another case drawers.

The textiles included a curtain and valance, a blue quilt, old and new blankets, cotton cloth, three or four rugs, a tablecloth, towels, and pillows. To dress himself, Benjamin Ward could draw upon an extensive wardrobe. This included five "necks," six cotton shirts, six check shirts, two pair "Trowsers," one pair cloth breeches, two pair silk stockings, two pair worsted hose, seven pair yarn hose, and a pair each of white and worsted gloves. To keep himself warm, he owned a great coat, three "other coats," one cloth jacket, one double-breasted jacket, one serge jacket, one black jacket, a blue jacket, a "holland" jacket, three homespun jackets, a waistcoat, and a "baise gown." A black or a check handkerchief could go in his coat pocket, and a green cap went on his head.

To protect himself, he carried a pocket pistol, with shot, bullets, and powder horns. For travelling he owned a bag and a knapsack. Several parcels of land are also listed, one of which probably descended to him through his mother, and which turns up again in Deborah Palfray's will in 1809.²³ The total value of Benjamin's estate was £838.

Benjamin did not leave a will, but his house seems to have passed to his son Benjamin, often but not always referred to as Benjamin, jr., as he will be here for the sake of clarity. Benjamin, jr., had purchased in 1763 for £30 a part of his father's land, south of the ancestral home, and

23. E. S. Waters, "Genealogical Notes. Ward Family," pp. 184-185. Essex County Probate Records 351: Leaf 232-234, and 377: Leaf 321.

there is a record that he built a house in Salem during that year, probably on that land.²⁴

Benjamin, jr., was married to Mary Osgood in 1751, at the age of twenty-six, and their union did not produce any offspring. His trade was that of cordwainer, and he appears as one of nineteen Salem shoemakers in a 1762 list.²⁵ Several bills for his work have survived, including one for making one "pair Boots" each for John Masury, Michael Smethers, Henry Fink, and Samuell Hains, in 1754. Benjamin, jr., made and repaired boots and shoes for Elias Hasket Derby, Joseph Hendfield, and many people employed by Joshua and Miles Ward. A bill paid by Joshua Ward in 1792 includes several entries for making "Lather Jack-ets."²⁶ Further mention of Benjamin, jr., appears in the court records of 1796, when he is listed as a surety and witness in a case involving a deceased friend.²⁷

Two aspects of Benjamin, jr., his longevity and his interest in Universalism, intrigued the Reverend William Bentley, and we find a few words about him in Bentley's famous diary. In April 1797, Bentley records that

Mr. B. Ward sen. aet 73, tells me that he knew very well the first Vessel built for Marblehead, purposely for a Merchant Vessel.²⁸

Benjamin, jr., would have been about the right age to be the subject of this quotation, and his father was a mariner, but we can't be sure that it is he whom Bentley is speaking of, as another Benjamin Ward, also connected with the sea, was alive at the same time and appears in

24. "List of Houses Built in Salem From 1750-1775," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 57(October 1922):293.

25. Benno Forman, "Salem Tradesmen and Craftsmen Circa 1762: A Contemporary Document," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 107(January 1971):64.

26. The bills for Benjamin Ward, jr.'s work are in the (Miles) Ward Family Manuscripts, Volumes 1, 5, and 6; in the Joshua Ward Manuscripts; in Elias Hasket Derby's Account Books, Volume 1, all at the Essex Institute. Other accounts are contained in the Diary of Joseph Hendfield, for the years 1765 and 1767, at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

27. Henry Wyckoff Belknap, "The Grafton Family of Salem," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 64(July 1928): 212 and 216.

28. *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D., Pastor of the East Church, Salem, Massachusetts* (Essex Institute, 1905-1914) 2:220.

Bentley elsewhere. It is almost certainly our Benjamin, jr., who figures in Bentley's entry for May 31, 1800, however:

Old Mr. B. Ward, nearly 80, living near the Prison, told me that the old prison was an oak frame covered within with oak plank & spiked & filled with stones. That it stood till the new one was finished. That the old one stood between the New & St. Peter's Street, eastward of it, upon a stone underpinning. That the New Goal is made of 7 inch timber hewed so as to close, then covered with iron plate, & planked upon all the prison part.²⁹

Five years later, Benjamin, jr., is again mentioned in the Bentley diary, this time in connection with another matter:

It is said that B. Ward senr. has given by actual deed a lot of land in St. Peter's street for a meeting house for the Universalists.³⁰

And just a year later, we find the only statement of a personal nature made concerning a member of the John Ward family. Bentley tells us:

Benjamin Ward, aet. 82, lived below the Church in St. Peter's Street. He was a Shoemaker & a man of firm habits. In his old age he was among the first to embrace the Doctrine of Universal Salvation which he strenuously maintained till he expired. He bequeathed the lot of land adjoining to his house to be employed for the service of a Universalists Meeting House whenever the sect should be strong enough to erect one. His Mind was unmoved by many solicitations of interest & by all the invectives of prejudice employed against his opinions & his determinations.³¹

Presumably his friends, and probably members of his own family, tried to dissuade him from donating the land to this new religious sect.

29. Bentley, *Diary* 2:333. Charles S. Osgood and H. M. Batchelder, in their *Historical Sketch of Salem* (Essex Institute, 1879), say on page 12 that Salem's second jail was built near the corner of Federal and St. Peter streets in 1684. The present jail is at the foot of St. Peter Street, corner of Bridge Street, and was erected in 1813.

30. Bentley, *Diary* 3:179.

31. Bentley, *Diary* 3:243.

But having no children, and being no doubt a little stubborn and crotchety in his old age, Benjamin, jr., persisted.

As it turned out, the Universalists sold the land he had donated and purchased another for their meeting house. The historian of the Universalist Church does record that on January 22, 1806, Benjamin, jr., gave to Jonathan Beckford, Nathaniel Frothingham, and other Universalist trustees a lot of land on St. Peter Street, worth about one thousand dollars. The trustees, feeling the "neighborhood was less desirable" because of the proximity of the jail, sold Benjamin, jr.'s land in 1808 and with the money thus obtained purchased the nearby lot where the Universalist Church now stands. However, the church's historian makes another interesting comment when he observes that Benjamin, jr.'s lot was "more eligible, at this time [1859]" than it was in 1808.³²

Benjamin, jr., died in 1806, unaware that his gift would be exchanged. In an 1802 will, he had left everything to his sister Deborah, now Deborah Palfray after her second marriage to Warwick Palfray in 1763.³³ A widow by 1806, Deborah Palfray remained in possession of the house for only a short time, dying in 1809.³⁴

Because of her marriage, Deborah Palfray apparently had some security, and a house of her own. The John Ward House may have been rented during the period of her ownership, and during the seven or so years while her will was tied up in probate. It is also possible that Benjamin, jr., rented the Ward House, while living in the house he built in 1763. In an 1816 court action, we find mentioned two houses: one, "the old mansion dwelling house formerly Mr. B. Ward's," valued at \$500, and to the south a second house, probably the 1763 dwelling, valued at \$1200.³⁵ In December 1817, cash received for the

32. Reverend Samuel Willis, *A Semi-Centennial Address, delivered in the Universalist Church, Salem, Mass., Thursday, August 4, 1859, On the Occasion of Celebrating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Dedication of the Church* (Salem: Register Press, Charles W. Swasey, 1859), p. 66.

33. Deborah Ward married Pinson Bickford on December 9, 1756. After Bickford's death in 1759, she married Warwick Palfray on March 3, 1763. Palfray died in 1797 of "old age." See E. S. Waters, "Genealogical Notes. Ward Family," pp. 188-189; *Vital Records* 3:109; 4:432; 5:89; 6:112.

34. Essex County Probate Records 374: Leaf 231-232 (September 1, 1806); *Vital Records* 6:111.

35. Essex County Probate Records 389: Leaf 526.

rent of these two houses totaled \$39.53.³⁶ It was ordered by the court that they be put up for public auction in December 1816.³⁷

With the purchase of the "old mansion dwelling house" by Temple Hardy of Salem on December 6, 1816, for \$550, the John Ward House passed out of the hands of Ward's descendants.³⁸ It was to be both a house and a bakery for nearly the next forty years.

Temple Hardy, jr., a member of the Salem Charitable Mechanics Association, was a baker in partnership with Asa A. Whiting for a number of years. Beginning in 1837, with the first Salem directory, Hardy is listed as having a bakery and living at 38 St. Peter Street, the original location of the house. In 1842, he was assisted by Leonard Pratt, baker, who also resided at the Ward House. Ebenezer D. Kimball, pedlar, boarded with Hardy in 1846 and his father (also named Temple Hardy) and William Hardy, probably a brother, lived there from time to time also. The father operated a West Indies grocery store at 2 Federal Street, just across the street.³⁹

On August 9, 1835, Hardy was married to Mary A. Reeves, and they had four children, only two of whom survived infancy. In 1853, Temple and Mary Hardy sold their house and land to Stephen B. Ives of Salem, a prominent local businessman. The Hardys continued to live there in the Ward House at least through 1855, by which time Temple was employed by the J. C. Furbush and Company, dealers in East India Goods at 72 Federal Street. By 1857, Hardy was living at 74 Federal Street, and operating a shop at 26 Front Street, where he sold "doors, sashes, and blinds."⁴⁰

With the purchase by Ives, the era of nearly continuous owner-occupancy for the Ward House was at an end. For the next half century, the Ward House was to be a two-, three-, or four-unit tenement.

Ives lived at 26 Brown Street, near the Ward House, and was a

36. Essex County Probate Records 391: Leaf 381.

37. Essex County Registry of Deeds, Book 211, Leaf 183. Two notices of the auction appeared in the *Salem Gazette*, on December 3, 1816, and December 6, 1816, the day of the actual sale.

38. Essex County Registry of Deeds, Book 211, Leaf 183.

39. The Salem Charitable Mechanic Association, *Constitution and List of Members*, 1840, and the Salem directories for 1837, 1842, 1846, 1850, 1851, 1853, and 1857. Whiting is listed as Hardy's partner in 1837. In 1846 Hardy's father first appears as living at 38 St. Peter Street, and he continues to live there off and on until 1853.

40. Essex County Registry of Deeds, Book 474, Leaf 97, and also the Salem directories for 1855 and 1857.

bookseller and publisher, as well as being active in local government.⁴¹ At the same time as he purchased the Ward House lot, he bought another adjacent lot, and his intention seems to have been the creation of a road to the outbuildings behind his own house. Known as Ives Court, this road which used to pass in front of the Ward House is no longer in existence.

After Temple Hardy's departure, a series of interesting tenants flowed through the house with a rapid rate of turnover. Laborers and widows seem to have formed the bulk of the occupants. In 1857, for example, Joseph A. Cheney, cigar maker, and Elizabeth Fairfield, widow, were the residents. In 1866, we find Alonzo C. Kezar, clerk, Sarah B. Kezar, widow, Jonathan B. Latons, wheelwright, and Timothy Madden, carver, sharing the house. Charles S. Jewett, laborer, and Elizabeth S. Wadleigh, dressmaker, had replaced the Kezars by 1869.⁴²

A change in ownership occurred in 1871, when David P. Wetherbee purchased the Ward House for \$3,600. Married and with two children, Wetherbee spent much of his life as a farmer, but by 1869 he had become superintendent of the Salem and Danvers Aqueduct Company. He resided at 28 Williams Street, and continued to rent the Ward House. Shortly before his death, Wetherbee purchased and rented another house (later to be moved and restored by the Essex Institute, the Crowninshield-Bentley House) at 106-108 Essex Street. Wetherbee died in 1874, and his estate was in probate for the next thirteen years.

41. Ives is listed as an alderman in the Salem directory of 1851, and in 1858 he was president of the Salem Common Council (Osgood and Batchelder, *Historical Sketch of Salem*, p. 62). He was president of the Salem Charitable Mechanics Association from 1864 to 1867 (William D. Dennis, "The Salem Charitable Mechanics Association," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 42[January 1906]:27).

He began his career as a bookseller in 1823 when he and his brother William opened a shop. The brothers began printing the *Salem Observer* in the same year, and, in 1828, they published a juvenile weekly known as the *Hive*. This was only printed for two years, and in 1841 Stephen withdrew from the *Observer*. In 1855 the brothers operated a "Printing Office and Book Bindery" in the Stearns block. (See Joseph Felt, *Annals of Salem*, 2nd edition [Salem: W. & S. B. Ives, 1849], Volume 2, and Harriet Silvester Tapley, *Salem Imprints, 1768-1825: A History of the First Fifty Years of Printing in Salem, Massachusetts* [Essex Institute, 1927].)

42. Salem directories for 1857, 1861, 1864, 1866, and 1869. While we have a full list of tenants who lived in the Ward House from 1857 through 1909, we have mentioned only a few.

During Wetherbee's ownership of the Ward House, including the time his estate was in probate, a variety of transients went through the house. Patrick McGurn, shoemaker, was there in 1874, joined in 1876 by Miss Bridget Burke. In 1878, Andrew Keefe, laborer, and, in 1879, Miss Hannah Roach are listed. Andrew Keefe was joined in 1881 by Michael Sullivan, a fellow laborer, and Thomas W. Poor, a painter, and Mrs. Robert (Phoebe) B. Teague, widow, joined this group in 1882. Samuel R. Thorner, marble worker, makes an appearance in 1886, along with another Andrew Keefe, shoemaker, apparently the first Andrew's son. The main characteristics of the tenants seem to be that they were relatively poor, either on the way up or the way down, and many of them were of Irish extraction. A number of widows moved in for only a year or two before joining their late husbands.⁴³

Through the executor of Wetherbee's will, John Kinsman, the house and land were conveyed to the County of Essex on February 28, 1887.⁴⁴ The county also purchased an adjacent lot as a step toward expansion of the jail facilities, but they remained slum landlords for most of the next twenty-three years. New tenants continued to move in, again generally staying for only brief periods of time. Appearances were first made by Mrs. Anzella B. Gray, widow, and Joel Allen, undertaker (of the J. H. Allen Undertakers at 36 St. Peter Street), in 1888. In 1890, Charles J. Smith, the second currier to live in the house, Mrs. Lydia A. Hawkins, nurse, and Miss Harriet B. Long are listed. By this time the house had deteriorated to the point where it stood vacant for several years until Charles Whitmore attempted to operate a bakery there in 1889-1900. In 1903, Miss Sarah W. Symonds, a sculptor, modeller, and artist, had her shop in the Ward House, and her studio remained there through 1909.⁴⁵ A 1905 advertisement for her "Colonial Studio" refers to its

43. See the Essex County Registry of Deeds, Book 820, Leaf 19, for Wetherbee's purchase of the Ward House. His purchase of half of the Crowninshield-Bentley House is recorded in Book 797, Leaf 193. Information on the tenants comes from the Salem directories for 1869, 1872, 1874, 1876, 1878, 1879, 1881, 1882, 1882-83, 1884, 1884-85, 1886, and 1886-87.

44. Essex County Registry of Deeds, Book 1191, Leaf 285.

45. Salem directories for 1888-89, 1890-91, 1893-94, 1895-96, 1897-98, 1899-1900, 1901, 1903-04, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, and 1909. Recently donated to the Essex Institute was a bas-relief model of the restored Ward House kitchen done by Sarah Symonds, and her model of the Peirce-Nichols House, 80 Federal Street, Salem, is on display in the Institute museum.

location as the "Old John Ward House, Built 1684."⁴⁶ Later, Miss Symonds occupied the house as one of its first tourist guides.

As the following article from the *Salem Evening News* of March 21, 1892, attests, the county commissioners attempted to give the Ward (still called the Waller) House to the Essex Institute as early as 1890, in order to save it from destruction and remove a problem from their hands:

The County commissioners are considering the removal of the old Waller house on St. Peter street, adjoining the jail property, in order to make additional jail room. The Waller house is one of the typical colonial buildings now in existence in Salem, and it ought to be (in the opinion of many lovers of the historical) preserved. These facts have already been stated in THE NEWS, but the generous offer of the commissioners has never been published.

In the winter of 1890, the family occupying the house notified the commissioners that they would not occupy it another winter. The building was considerably out of repair and the commissioners, upon examining it, found it cheaper to allow it to remain idle than to expend money for the necessary repairs. As the building was of a rare old type it was determined to offer it gratis to the Essex Institute; the offer was accordingly made, and still remains open, and will remain open for a year if the Institute people decide to accept. The difficulty lying in the way of acceptance is that there is no suitable spot upon which it can be placed. At first it was thought that it might be placed beside the First Church, in the rear of the Institute, but it is understood that neighbors objected because the building is of wood and combustible. No other suitable land is possessed, and unless someone charitably disposed presents a piece of land for the building, it is liable to pass in its chips.

It was not until twenty years later that the Institute took any action on this offer of the county officials. With the purchase of some land fronting on Brown Street at the rear of the Institute, and the removal of some dilapidated buildings thereon, the way was cleared for the In-

46. Salem directory, 1905, p. 1488.



John Ward House. *Photograph c. 1891 by Moulton & Erikson, Salem.*



John Ward House as restored on the grounds of Essex Institute. *Essex Institute photo, 1935.*



Kitchen, showing fireplace wall. *Photographs, unless otherwise noted, by Richard Merrill, 1973.*



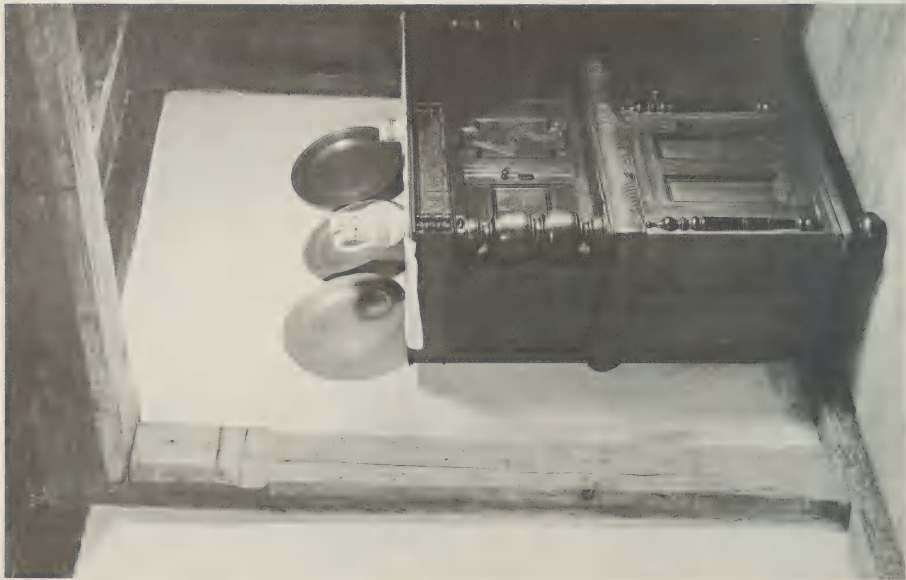
Kitchen, showing display of wooden and pewter utensils of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries



Hall, fireplace wall



Hall, view showing original back door and present south wall



John Ward House, 1973 photograph. Left, view of parlor and detail of chamfered post.

stitute to accept possession of the Ward House. It was moved to the grounds of the Institute in 1910, and with that move it ceased its natural existence, and took on yet another character.

Unlike the Pickering House on Broad Street in Salem, which has remained in the hands of the Pickering family since it was erected in the seventeenth century, the Ward House remained in the hands of the same family for only three generations. Originally the home of a currier, later the home of his mariner son and shoemaker grandson, the Ward House presents us with its own unique social history. For forty years it was a bakery, and for some sixty years it was a middle-to lower-class tenement, standing vacant and battered at some points, as old photographs will attest. In 1910, after preliminary overtures had been made and at a critical point when it seemed the house would inevitably be lost sooner or later, the County of Essex and the Essex Institute, in a maneuver which does credit to both institutions, combined to save and preserve the building. For the last sixty years, the Ward House has resided in the garden of the Institute, providing an example of early New England life to thousands of visitors annually. To this phase of the history of the house we now turn.

II

As it stands now, the John Ward House is a jumble of features dating from the original construction of the house and from the period of restoration. Tradition has always held, and evidence in the framing would seem to indicate, that the house was built by John Ward in three steps between 1684 and 1732. An eastern wing was added to the house in the nineteenth century, but was removed prior to 1905, probably before the end of the nineteenth century. In the following section, we will discuss the phases of construction, and those features which we think date to the beginning of the house, before turning to an evaluation of the restoration conducted between 1910 and 1912.

The Ward House, which now faces east, was built facing south, like most seventeenth-century houses. In the following pages, compass directions are given as though the house were still in its original location. Thus, the rooms designated as "western" are now to the left of the front door, "eastern" to the right, when facing the house.

Phase one of John Ward's building effort was a simple two-story end-

chimney structure, with an entryway and what became the upper and lower western rooms. The brick fill of what used to be an outside wall is still visible in the stairway which now divides the house, and mortises for studs are visible in the former end girt of the original section. This lower western room, now designated as the parlor, is framed mainly in pine. Traces of whitewash can be seen in the two large summer beams and posts, as well as traces of a blue paint. Dow has left a small bit of the ceiling as it appeared at restoration, showing the various paint layers that were removed at that time. The topmost layer is a gray-blue, which would be the color they discovered on the walls in 1910.

The north-south summers and the posts are decorated with chamfering. The floor boards and joists seem to be a combination of old and new materials, but it seems that, on the whole, Dow preserved a good deal of the framing in this room. The fireplace lintel is definitely new, and so are several floorboards of the room above. Most of the joists show evidence of the lath which was nailed to them, some show whitewash and paint, and a number appear to have been turned over at restoration. The summer beams are a darker color above where they were covered by lath and plaster, which is what we would expect from original members. The only obvious place where part of a major frame member has been repaired is the post holding the chimney girt, next to the door leading into the entry way. Part of the original post has been lost, and a new section of wood has been pieced into the original. None of the timber in this room seems to have been pit-sawn, as it all has the more regular marks of the mill saw. The summer beams are hewn.

The original back door, now leading to the lean-to, is still there in a corner of the lower western room. The floor boards in front of this door show great evidence of use, and it seems safe to assume that they are early, if not original, boards. There is no way of determining just how long this door was used. At some point in history it proved inadequate and was replaced by the wider door now next to it. When one opens the old door, old boarding can be seen around the edges of the door casing.

The front door is a reproduction of an old batten door, based on a chunk of what was apparently an older door found in 1910. This door has been made to conform to the nineteenth-century door opening. The staircase in the entryway is also a reproduction. The western bed-

chamber, not open to the public, is nearly identical with the lower room, with the exception of having a smaller fireplace.

Phase two of construction was the eastern half, framed mainly in oak. When this section was completed, the house formed the usual central chimney with center staircase floor plan. The eastern downstairs room contains only one principal girt, or summer, and is a smaller room, designated now as the kitchen. Again, many of the timbers appear to be original. The end girt of the original part of the house, although pieced, is still in place. The fireplace lintel is again new, and some floorboards and joists have been replaced. It seems likely that the cellar was added at the same time as these eastern rooms, as the door to it is located on this side of the house. The eastern bedchamber looks much like it must have in 1910, with the ceiling still plastered and faded wallpaper on the walls, and has not been restored to any degree.

We have no way of knowing what the condition of the chimney was when Dow restored the building, so it is difficult to know whether the lower eastern room or the lean-to was built as a kitchen. Indeed, since Benjamin Ward and his wife shared the house, at least with his mother Jehoadan, the chimney stack may have contained several ovens. It is probable that Temple Hardy replaced the whole chimney in the early nineteenth century in order to adapt it for baking ovens.

The batten door from the eastern room to the lean-to shows evidence of having once had heavy bolts used to lock it. These may have been removed at the time of restoration.

The lean-to was added as the third and final step of John Ward's building program sometime before 1732, as it is mentioned in his will at that time. It was detached when the house was moved for restoration, and when the later plaster was removed some original, or at least quite old, clapboards on what used to be an exterior wall came to light.⁴⁷ It is interesting to note that these clapboards show evidence of having been painted yellow. The break in the roof line is also evidence that the lean-to was an addition, not an integral part of the house.

Dating the erection of these three sections is practically impossible. By turning to the social history, several possibilities suggest themselves, but we are only dealing in possibilities. The original section may have

47. George Francis Dow to William Sumner Appleton, January 6, 1915, correspondence file, Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities; and Henry Wyck-off Belknap, "The Seventeenth Century House" (Essex Institute, 1930).

been built in late 1684 or early 1685, just after John Ward had purchased the lot upon which it stood. The eastern rooms, the second phase, may then have been added at the time of his marriage in 1689, or after he and his wife had produced several children. The lean-to could have been built just prior to 1724, when Benjamin was married and probably came to share the house with his elderly parents. But there are clues that John Ward might have lived in Marblehead until the birth of Benjamin in 1698/9, and the house may have been started then. John Ward bought the last portion of his entire lot in 1696, and may have waited to start construction until then. The options are numberless, and the only safe date that can be assigned to the house, at this point, is the one chosen by Fiske Kimball, "after 1684."⁴⁸

The house has a wide overhang, which extends only along the front and western end of the building. It is framed so that the girts provide the width of the overhang, and therefore extend considerably beyond the first floor posts. Norman Isham felt that the girts which extend in this manner are suspended for the most part from above, rather than supported from below.⁴⁹

The two front gables, removed during the history of the house, were replaced during the restoration, and evidence seems to indicate that this was a legitimate step. They are constructed in a peculiar manner, the roof boards having been cut in a triangular manner to accommodate the openings for the gables. In the upstairs stairway, the gable timber is framed into the plate, and the joint is still visible. Benjamin may have removed the gables when he inherited the house, to make its exterior more fashionable.

The roof is a west-of-England type, lightly framed, with the purlins trenched into the rafters, and a ridgepole. The roof boards run vertically, as they must in this system. Some of the rafters are numbered with builder's marks, moving from west to east. The whole roof shows signs of having been extensively reworked during the restoration, and for that reason presents an interesting problem. The end gables lack

48. The reference to John Ward's living in Marblehead is in Waters, "Genealogical Notes. Ward Family," pp. 180-183. Kimball uses the date in his *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* (1922; rpt., New York: Dover, 1966), p. 16.

49. A discussion of overhangs and a diagram of the Ward House framing can be found in Norman Morrison Isham, *Early American Houses* (New York: Da Capo, 1967), p. 38 and figure 32.

studs mortised into the rafters; it looks as though the boards bracing these ends may have been nailed on in the nineteenth century. The original, western end bay is now gone, apparently replaced in 1910. Many of the roof boards were replaced during the history of the house, as well as at restoration. There is a roof window now lighting the stairs to the attic, but whether there was evidence sanctioning this at restoration is unknown.

The nineteenth-century wing, added to the eastern end of the house, is now lost and can be studied only through photographs that are for the most part undated. It may have been built by Temple Hardy after 1816. He was the last owner-occupier of the dwelling, and he no doubt needed more room for his bakery. This wing had a front and back door, back stairs, a chimney, and was equipped with double-hung sash windows. The paneling on the doors and the number of window lights suggest a federal style, but the wing was essentially utilitarian in appearance. It was taken down before 1905, perhaps at the time the county purchased the building in 1887, as the number of tenants decreased in 1889.⁵⁰

In 1910, then, the John Ward House stood considerably transmogrified. It was painted yellow on the exterior, the gables had been removed, all the windows were double-hung sash, seemingly dating from different periods. The whole building had a new brick foundation, and a plain central chimney top was visible.

As we have seen, the county offered the Ward House to the Institute as early as 1890, although no action was taken for some years. In 1905, President Appleton of the Institute indicated an interest in preserving an ancient dwelling of Salem, to be placed on the Institute grounds, presenting a picture of seventeenth-century life.⁵¹ With the acquisition of some land fronting on Brown Street, behind the Institute, and the removal of some wooden buildings and a skating rink from the property, the location for such a project was finally available.⁵² In 1908 and 1909,

50. The best photographs of the Ward House are contained in the files of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, and the Essex Institute has several photographs as well. The information concerning the number of tenants comes from the Salem directories.

51. Appleton is quoted in Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States Before Williamsburg* (New York: Putnam, 1965), p. 213. See also the Institute's *Annual Report* of 1909, p. 18.

52. Essex Institute *Annual Report*, 1909, p. 18.

final steps were taken to save the Ward House. The situation is best stated in the words of George Francis Dow, Secretary (or curator, librarian, and editor) of the Institute, and the man to whom the restoration of the house would be entrusted:

Several years ago when the County of Essex purchased additional land on St. Peter Street for the purpose of enlarging the County jail property, it acquired an ancient dwelling-house originally built in 1685 for John Ward. This building has been offered to the Essex Institute for safe-keeping.⁵³

By "safe-keeping," Dow meant that the house "could be refitted and furnished and made to show, as in no other way possible, a truthful picture of 17th century household life in Salem."⁵⁴

In the spring of 1910, the Institute acquired the house, and sixteen benefactors paid the William G. Edwards Building Mover and Contractor Company \$250 to move the Ward House from its original location to the grounds of the Institute, a short distance of about two blocks.⁵⁵ Dow then spent a good deal of time and money altering it to meet his conceptions of seventeenth-century architecture, furnishings, and domestic life.

Dow, a man of prodigious energy and multiple talents, made his first career as an engineer in the sheet metal business. A Topsfield native, he founded the Topsfield Historical Society in 1895. He was the Secretary of the Essex Institute from 1898 to 1919, and went from there to the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, where he held a number of top positions. Dow organized the building of Pioneer Village in Salem, he founded the Marine Research Society, was business manager of the *Essex Antiquarian*, and was active in the Massachusetts Historical Society and the New England Historic Genealogical Society. He was a prolific author of books and articles, and the editor of Bentley's diary, the Essex County Quarterly Court Records, and

53. Essex Institute *Annual Report*, 1909, p. 18.

54. Essex Institute *Annual Report*, 1909, p. 18.

55. William G. Edwards operated what was termed the "largest building moving concern in the county." He moved the large brick chimney of the Devlin factory and the William D. Sohler House in Beverly in 1896, and was generally experienced in the trade. See C. B. Gillespie, *Illustrated History of Salem and Environs 1626-1897* (Salem: Salem Evening News, 1897), p. 199. Edward's invoice for moving the Ward House is dated May 21, 1910. The information concerning the number of sponsors comes from the Institute's *Annual Report*, 1910, p. 16.

many other documents and publications. Dow restored the Parson Capen House in Topsfield, as well as many other early New England homes. Born in 1868, Dow died in Topsfield in 1936, after spending a full life in the mainstream of the budding historic preservation movement.⁵⁶

Dow no doubt drew his inspiration for the Ward House restoration and exhibit from European examples in Switzerland, Germany, and Scandinavia. A few other New England homes and several southern buildings had been restored prior to the Ward House, and period rooms had begun to appear in museums across the country. Dow himself had just finished creating the three period room displays which can be seen unchanged in the Institute today.⁵⁷

It is unfortunate that Dow left very little written or pictorial record of the alterations he made to the Ward House. Important material at the Topsfield Historical Society indicates that Dow kept more careful notes and memoranda on his projects than had been supposed, and there is always the hope that continued searching will turn up material on the Ward House. For information on what has been termed "unquestionably the earliest of a long line of similar exhibitions that now dot the whole United States," we must be content with the capsule summaries Dow made each year in May for the Institute's *Annual Report*, some Institute financial records, and visual examination of the building itself.⁵⁸

56. Dow's accomplishments are literally too numerous to mention. While he was born in Wakefield, he grew up in Topsfield, and always considered it his home. The basic facts of his life can be found in his obituaries in *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 90(1936):289-290, and *Old Time New England* 27, No. 1 (July 1936):37. Also of interest is the brief biographical sketch by Charles Hosmer in Clifford L. Lord, ed., *Keepers of the Past* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1965). For Dow's own statements concerning his early career, an application he filed with the government for a job during World War I, contained in the Dow papers of the Topsfield Historical Society, on loan to the Essex Institute, is very interesting. The Topsfield Historical Society also has on deposit at the Topsfield Public Library a number of Dow manuscripts which are very helpful.

57. A discussion of the early years of historic preservation can be found in Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, which refers specifically to Dow on pages 212 ff., and in Calvin Tomkins' eminently readable *Merchants and Masterpieces: The Story of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Dutton, 1972), p. 198.

58. The quotation is from Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, p. 216. This paper was originally prepared in a seminar under the direction of Abbott Lowell Cummings, and we are indebted to Dr. Cummings for his comments during a visit to the Ward House in April 1973, as well as for his other assistance.

Dow's main plan was straightforward. Originally, he meant to restore the two large downstairs rooms in the "17th century manner." Later he decided instead that they should be done in an "early 18th century manner," but by 1912 he had settled on "1700" as the date for interior furnishings. This may explain why he chose eighteenth-century wainscot sheathing for these rooms. Despite these changes in dating, his plan for the layout of the house never varied. One room would be the kitchen, and the other the hall or parlor. The lean-to was to contain three separate exhibits: a weaving room, an apothecary shop, and an "Old Salem" cent shop. The upstairs was to be used as quarters for the guides, who were to be dressed in period costumes. Each room was to be furnished with appropriate museum artifacts, but in 1912 Dow explained that "Where original furniture or utensils of the period have not been available, reproductions have been made." Gardens would surround the house, and a well curb with a long sweep was placed outside. The whole display, Dow said, would be "highly successful, giving much of an atmosphere of liveableness."⁵⁹

In putting these plans into effect, Dow had to make several major alterations. These are described in his progress report to Institute members in May 1911:

The yellow painted exterior has been stained a weather-beaten color, the expense having been met by Mr. Albree. The paint and later plaster have been removed from the two large rooms on the ground floor and the leaded-glass casement windows in the first floor are now being put in place. Mr. Philip Little has agreed to assume the expense of placing the wall and floor of the front room in proper condition and soon it will be opened for public inspection, furnished in the 17th century manner. The weaving room and apothecary's shop also will be opened within a few weeks. The perfect and complete restoration of the old house is lacking in two essential particulars, viz., the reconstructing of the huge fireplaces, which will cost \$450.00, and the rebuilding, at a cost of \$100.00, of the two "peaked windows"

59. The "17th century manner" is mentioned in the Institute *Annual Report*, 1909, p. 18. This was amended to "early 18th century manner" in the 1910 *Annual Report*, p. 16, and "1700" was settled on by the 1912 *Annual Report*, p. 16. The lean-to exhibits are discussed by Dow in the *Annual Report*, 1910, p. 16. The other quotations in this paragraph are from the 1912 *Annual Report*, p. 16.

that formerly projected from the roof. I ardently wish that money were in hand so that the work might begin tomorrow and then in very truth we should possess a 17th century dwelling.⁶⁰

Dow was to receive the money he asked for, and the restoration was finished by the time of the next year's report.

Bills for work done on the house by local contractors provide a quantitative idea of the large amount of reconstruction that took place. The woodworking was undertaken by Morrison and Young, building contractors and carpenters, 297 Bridge Street, Salem. Their invoices indicate that a total of 3,334 feet of pine was used, along with 421 feet of oak, 256 feet of spruce, 201 feet of cypress, 60 feet of hemlock, and 54½ feet of white wood. The Institute was also billed for an oak post, shingles, and 373 clapboards. Lumber was purchased from Morrison and Young, and also from J. P. Langmaid and Sons, Derby Street Salem, and Phineas E. Dodge, dealer in pine and oak lumber, shingles, wood slabs and sawdust, Rowley, Massachusetts.⁶¹

Most of this lumber went to repairing the exterior, replacing the staircase and gables, and adding new sheathing, floor boards, and other pieces inside. The staircase was modeled after that in the Capen House, Topsfield.⁶² For their work, Morrison and Young were to receive nearly \$900.00.

The fireplaces and chimney were rebuilt by the Salem firm of J. N. and V. S. Peterson, 62 North Street. According to Dow, their model was again the Parson Capen House. Masons and tenders used 5,700 old bricks and 1,350 face bricks, plus the usual mason's supplies, to restore the fireplaces to their 8-feet by 5-feet dimensions, and spent 69 working days doing so. Their total bill came to \$695.48.⁶³ The brick was sup-

60. Essex Institute *Annual Report*, 1911, p. 19.

61. Morrison and Young's invoices are dated September 1, 1910, July 31, 1911, October 1, 1911, January 24, 1912, July 1, 1912. Langmaid's invoice is dated July 1, 1910, and Dodge's was received on November 20, 1911.

62. The stairs are referred to by Dow in the Institute *Annual Report*, 1912, p. 16. Charles Lawrence, in an article in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, October 28, 1916, mentions that gables were replaced "after finding the old timber joints in the attic," and this was indeed the case.

63. The reference to the Capen House chimney is in the Institute *Annual Report*, 1912, p. 16. Peterson invoices are dated June 1, 1910, March 5, 1912, and April 1, 1912. The Petersons were quite active in Salem, working on a large number of brick buildings,

posedly “redded” with “original red found at Lexington,” and in one of the painter’s bills there is an entry for “indian red.” Firebacks with the convenient date “1684,” obtained from another house, were placed in the fireplaces at a later date.⁶⁴

Small amounts of iron work were done by Fred W. Dingle, a Salem blacksmith. Dingle provided nails, “Door Irons, hinges, hooks, a fire shovel, hinge nails,” and “One Pair And Irons.” His work totaled \$41.65.⁶⁵

There was evidence for the placement of the casement windows, according to an early newspaper account: “in one room was uncovered the stool cap of a double casement window, with its frame, still bright with red paint.”⁶⁶ Following this discovery, Dow purchased ten 13" x 30", ten 13" x 36", and seven 14½" x 36" leaded-glass lights, from Spence, Bell, and Company, 90 Canal Street, in Boston.⁶⁷ John Kimball and Brother, general wood workers, 297 Bridge Street, Salem, installed sixteen casement sashes, and Zina Goodell, machinist and blacksmith of Salem, worked 27½ hours over five days on the hinges and window irons. Total cost for the glass and the installation of the windows which were placed everywhere except in the lean-to, came to \$154.23.⁶⁸ The new windows were based on examples from other houses that were in the Institute museum.⁶⁹

The exterior of the house was painted and stained a “weather-

including the new YMCA on Essex Street, the Naumkeag, Peabody, and Endicott buildings, and Almy, Bigelow, and Washburn’s. See Gillespie, *Illustrated History of Salem* (Salem Evening News, 1897), pp. 190–191.

64. Fuller and Hutchinson’s invoice of June 3, 1911, mentions “indian red,” and the attribution to Lexington is found in Lawrence’s article in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, October 28, 1916. One of the firebacks was accessioned by the Institute in 1921 (#112,478), the gift of a Mrs. Averill. The other fireback, from an unknown donor, was also accessioned that year (#112,584), but the house from which these objects came is unknown.

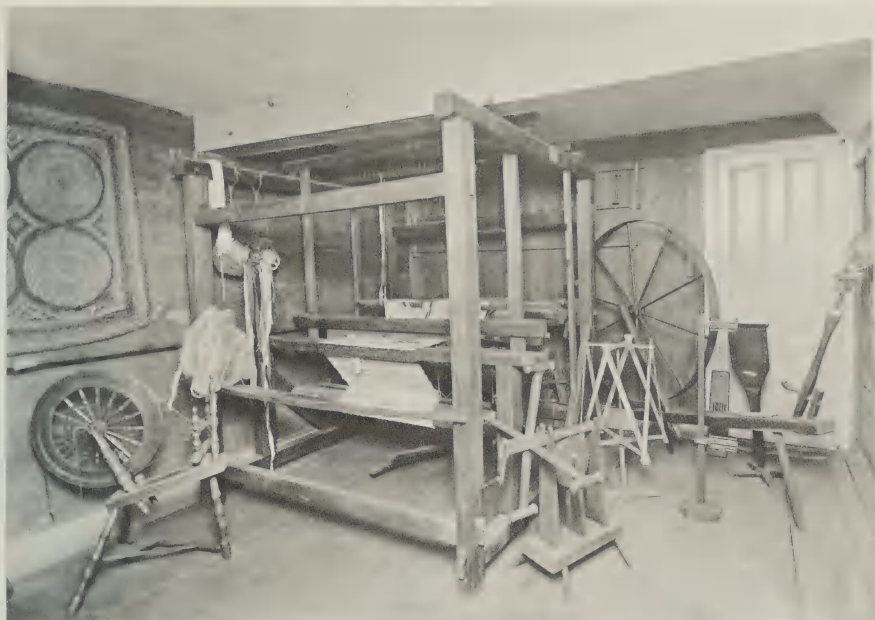
65. Invoices dated December 22, 1911, February 1, 1912, and March 4, 1912.

66. *Boston Evening Transcript*, October 28, 1916. In the same article Lawrence also says that “In another room parts of a double window were uncovered.”

67. Invoices of April 6, 1911, and November 4, 1911.

68. Kimball and Brother invoice dated January 1, 1912, and Goodell invoice dated November 1, 1911.

69. Although tradition at the Essex Institute claims that the casement windows were reproduced in England, we did not find any indication that Spence, Bell, and Company imported the glass they sold to the Essex Institute for them. Lawrence, in the *Boston Evening Transcript* article of October 28, 1916, says that the new windows were based on examples in the Institute’s museum.



The weaving room, set up with a mid-eighteenth-century loom



The Cent Shop, illustrating an aspect of Salem mercantile life in the early nineteenth century.
Photographs by Frank Cousins, 1896.



The Apothecary Shop, displaying objects purchased from Dr. Webb's shop in Salem, when it ceased business in the early twentieth century. *Photograph by Samuel Chamberlain, 1969.*

beaten" color by Fuller and Hutchinson, house painters, decorators and paper-hangers, 73 $\frac{1}{2}$ North Street, Salem.⁷⁰

It is interesting to note that Morrison and Young also did the wood-working for the restoration of the Parson Capen House in 1913, and that Fred Dingle was rehired by Dow to do the iron work there. Spence, Bell, and Company supplied the windows for the Capen House, and Dow seems to have been satisfied with the work of all these men.⁷¹ It is worth noting that these early twentieth-century workmen have had more of an influence on the way we think about seventeenth-century architecture than we perhaps realize or acknowledge.

In 1911 and early 1912, the weaving room, apothecary shop, and cent shop were opened to the public. The weaving room contained such items as a rather large hand loom from Barrington, New Hampshire, dating from before 1750, various spinning wheels, and other spinning and weaving equipment.⁷² The apothecary shop was supplied with goods purchased at the sale of the estate of Dr. William Webb in 1901, a Salem apothecary active in 1830. In an article on the apothecary shop, Dow stated that such exhibits existed in Europe, and he was very proud that the Institute could have one as well. He felt that this display of Webb's shop was the first of its kind in America, a fact which helps explain why he chose to incorporate it within the Ward House lean-to.⁷³ The cent shop, with its Gibralters, penny candy, and other small items, drew its inspiration from the tradition of such shops in Salem. Hawthorne gave a mighty boost to one such shop in *The House of the Seven Gables*.⁷⁴

70. Invoices dated June 3, 1911, and March 16, 1912.

71. See the "Capen House Restoration and Furnishing Account," *Topsfield Historical Society Collections* 20(1915):x-xi. The account was submitted by Dow as treasurer of the society. The restoration of the Capen House cost a hundred dollars less than that of the Ward House.

72. Various aspects of the lean-to furnishings are discussed in the Institute's *Annual Reports* for 1910, 1912, and 1913, in Lawrence's *Boston Evening Transcript* article, in Henry Wyckoff Belknap's pamphlet "The Seventeenth Century House," and by the Essex Institute's guide sheet, "The John Ward House: Suggested Routes and Important Points." For information on specific items the best source is the museum's inventory of Ward House artifacts.

73. Webb opened his shop at 54 Essex Street in 1822, and his son Benjamin carried on his work after his father's death. See Essex Institute, "The John Ward House: Suggested Routes and Important Points," and an important article by Dow in *Tile and Till*, November 1916, p. 83, entitled "An Old-Time Apothecary Shop."

74. A display case was used in the cent shop to contain some relics found in the house at the time of restoration. Also see Dow, "An Old-Time Apothecary Shop," p. 83.

During the restoration period, the Institute paid to have some of its artifacts repaired and cleaned, and purchased some new objects which may have found their way into the Ward House. For example, "1 Axminster Rug" was purchased from the H. M. Bixby Company of Salem for the "Old House Alteration."⁷⁵ C. Titus and Company, "Highgrade Interior Furnishings," Washington Street, Salem, covered two chairs for the "Old House," and pewter spoons, table knives, and pewter plates were purchased from various dealers.⁷⁶ Ten dollars were spent to have some "Pewter Plates and Dishes Cleaned," and, in general, Dow was sprucing up and adding to the collection in preparation for the opening of the house.⁷⁷

The hall was furnished with a chest, a press bed, several chairs, a gate-leg table, and a joint stool. The kitchen also had a table, pewter and other utensils, much fireplace equipment, a settle, and the expected gun over the fireplace. It is neither necessary nor important to dwell at length with these objects, as none of them have a history in the house, and many of them were reproductions. Dow furnished the house simply, and with what he had available.⁷⁸ The 1775 inventory of Benjamin Ward's estate would have provided an interesting list of goods to match, but Dow chose not to do so.

A milestone was placed outside near the front door, and the house was opened to the public in early 1912.⁷⁹ Dow recorded in the *Annual Reports* that he had spent nearly \$2,500 on the restoration of the house, and it seems that contributions totalling this amount were received.⁸⁰

75. Invoice dated December 1, 1911.

76. Titus invoice dated January 3, 1912. Other items purchased were "3 Dz Pew Sps" from Reed and Barton of Taunton (invoice of February 9, 1912), four pewter plates from James Gamble, dealer in antique goods, 109 Essex Street, Salem (invoice of January 27, 1912), and a number of goods from M. K. Patch of Hamilton (invoice dated December 8, 1911), and Miss Maria P. Hood (invoice dated April 18, 1911). Landers, Frary and Clark of New Britain, Connecticut, supplied "1/2 Doz Table Knives Special," invoice of February 29, 1912.

77. Salem Plating and Polishing Company invoice dated March 1, 1912.

78. Capsule descriptions can be found in the Institute's "John Ward House: Suggested Routes and Important Points."

79. This milestone formerly stood near "the big tree" on the old Boston road, one mile from Salem. Dated 1711, it was saved by John Robinson and donated to the Institute. See the Institute *Annual Report*, 1910, p. 6, and *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 49 (January 1913), frontispiece.

80. Expenditures and gifts received for the "Old House" are given in the treasurer's reports in the Institute *Annual Reports* for 1910 through 1913.

The John Ward House was an immediate success, as far as public interest was concerned. A film crew took footage of the house for a newsreel in 1913.⁸¹ Several years later, staff members from the Metropolitan Museum of Art came to inspect the house, on a fact-finding mission prior to the opening of their own American wing.⁸² Sarah Symonds and a few assistants dressed in period costumes answered the ringing of a cow bell at the front door, and guided tourists through the house.⁸³

With the exception that the guides are no longer required to wear period dress, the Ward House exhibition has changed very little from 1912 to this day. After a period of decline, it was cleaned and rehabilitated in 1961–1962 during the administration of Dean A. Fales, Jr., but only minor switching of objects occurred. The Ward House was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1968, and it continues to be popular with the general public. Last year over 5,000 visitors trooped through its lower floor.⁸⁴

III

Thus, through the instrument of the Essex Institute, the John Ward House avoided the path that befell so many of the houses of its period: deterioration followed by destruction. It is possible that the Ward House could have remained as a tenement down to this day, as the projected expansion of the county jail never took place. The Gedney House, on High Street in Salem, was used as a multiple family dwelling until only recently, when it was recognized as a seventeenth-century dwelling, and preserved by the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

But the Ward House was known in the nineteenth century to have a long history. Often referred to as the Waller House, in the mistaken belief that the house built by Christopher Waller, the original owner of

81. Essex Institute *Annual Report*, 1913, p. 18.

82. Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces*, p. 198.

83. Photographs depicting the women in their costumes can be seen at the Essex Institute or the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. Sarah Symonds may have actually lived on the second floor during the summer months, for several years.

84. See Fales's director's report in the Institute *Annual Report* (*Essex Institute Historical Collections* 98[July 1962]:191). Attendance figures are in the Report of the Museum in the 1972 *Annual Report* (*Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 108[October 1972]:344).

the land, was still standing, the house was also called the Old Bakery by Osgood and Batchelder in 1879 and by Edwin Whitefield in 1880.⁸⁵ Sidney Perley had identified the house as belonging to John Ward in a 1904 article, and the "Colonial Studio" of Sarah Symonds announced this fact in its advertising.⁸⁶ No doubt this small reputation helped preserve the house.

As we have seen, John Ward was a rather obscure person, and his descendants, while not poor, were also just average citizens. It is perhaps fortunate that the Ward House has not been weighted down with famous or notorious residents. The Jonathan Corwin (Witch) House in Salem has been swamped by people interested in the witch trial mania which spread through Salem in 1692.⁸⁷ Nor does the Ward House share the fate of the Turner-Ingersoll House, the "House of the Seven Gables," which is forever associated in the popular mind with Hawthorne's tale, even though John Turner was a wealthy and fascinating man in his own right. The unobtrusiveness of the John Ward family has prevented any attempts at commercial exploitation.

The Ward House was also fortunate in receiving a moderately sympathetic restoration as early as 1912, something that is still difficult to obtain today. Dow was an intelligent man, widely read in primary sources and documents, and he did not wreak great damage on the house. A contemporary of Dow's said that Dow was always "minutely inspecting every nail-hole, every mortise or cut in the old framework, or prying beneath later applications of lathe and plaster in order to seek

85. The Ward House was termed the Waller House in a number of places, such as in articles in the Boston *Sunday Herald* of February 16, 1896, and the *Salem Evening News* of March 21, 1892. In Osgood and Batchelder's *Historical Sketch of Salem* (1879), the photograph opposite page 250 labels the Ward House as the Old Bakery. Whitefield's sketch of the Ward House in his *The Homes of our Forefathers . . . in Massachusetts*, 3rd edition (Boston: A. Williams and Company, 1880) is also labeled the Old Bakery. Confusion often results here, because the Hooper-Hathaway House, also a seventeenth-century dwelling, is more familiarly known as the Old Bakery.

86. Perley's attribution is in "Salem in 1700" (extracts from *Essex Antiquarian*, 1898-1910), p. 70. The advertisement for the "Colonial Studio" appears in a photograph in the Ward House file at the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

87. James Duncan Phillips does mention about the Ward House that "the ancient house must have looked down upon the formation of the sad procession of the witches for the last walk to Gallows Hill." Phillips also states that John Ward was the brother of Miles Ward, which does not happen to be the case, although it is true that the Ward House would have been virtually across the street from the jail where the witches were incarcerated. (See Phillips' *Salem in the Seventeenth Century*, p. xvii.)

out patiently each shred of evidence.”⁸⁸ He left visible the evidence of brick fill, lath and plaster, and paint layers that he found in the Ward House. He was aiming at accuracy, and was ahead of his time in many respects. It is unfortunate that he did not leave a greater record of his activity, as was done, for example, with the restoration of the Crown-inshield-Bentley House in 1959–1960. Dow’s failure to do so is particularly disappointing in light of his remark that the restoration of the Ward House “presented various puzzling problems.”⁸⁹

Despite Dow’s credentials, care, and sincerity, the restoration of the Ward House does present some warnings to the modern preservationist. While Dow was interested in having the correct furnishings and architectural detail in the house, he did not express any interest in what we have termed here the social history of the house. The stories and lives of its occupants were not considered; Dow was creating a composite house, a typical dwelling, and, in effect, a stereotype. This is unfortunate. Material such as Benjamin Ward’s 1775 inventory was available to Dow. Certainly a nineteenth-century bake shop would have been a more appropriate installation than an apothecary shop, and currier’s tools deserved to be displayed more than the gimcracks of the cent shop.⁹⁰ It is fortunate that Dow did give some feeling of change to this house, by not trying to transfix every room to the year 1684. On the whole, Dow, no doubt for practical and financial as well as esthetic and antiquarian reasons, chose to utilize the artifacts he had, to create an exhibit, and the building was reduced to a shell housing various real and reproduction objects, most of which were foreign to its history.

Dow also had little respect for the changes and transformations time brought to this individual building.⁹¹ He was determined to alter the interior of the house to make it accommodate his disjointed exhibits and correspond to his conception of seventeenth-century life. In so doing, Dow lost a great deal of what Lewis Mumford has called “the

88. The contemporary is J. Frederick Kelly, reminiscing in “Time Stone Farm,” *Walpole Society Notebook*, 1946, p. 41, quoted in *Keepers of the Past*, ed. Lord (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1965), p. 161.

89. Dow’s comment is in the *Bulletin of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities* 2, No. 2, Serial Number 4 (August 1911):20.

90. It is worth noting that tourists are invariably disappointed when informed that the lean-to shops were never really in the Ward House.

91. We are indebted here to Mumford’s comments on Colonial Williamsburg in *Sticks and Stones* (New York: Dover, 1955), p. 50.

dynamic quality of medieval architecture," which Mumford defines as a "feeling of growth":

The house has developed as the family within it has prospered, and brought forth children; as sons and daughters have married, as children have become more numerous, there have been additions: by a lean-to at one end the kitchen has achieved a separate existence, for instance, and these unpainted, weathered oaken masses pile up with a cumulative richness of effect.⁹²

One can still appreciate this effect when looking at the exterior of the Ward House, but it quickly dissolves upon entering the interior. Rooms from different periods are there, but they do not fit comfortably together. Dow ignored the social history of the house, and the resultant effect, Dow's statements notwithstanding, is lifeless.

Dow had already created period room displays in the Institute museum, and he carried this thinking over into the Ward House, where he installed five more such displays. The opportunity to create a different type of restoration, one respecting the individuality of the house, was at least theoretically available. The Ward House as it stands now lacks a certain vitality, as all stereotypes must. While it is asking too much of Dow to expect him to have arrived at conclusions we are still searching for today, we can regret that he did not choose to tell *one* story through the Ward House, and, in so doing, illuminate others. But he did not, and the result, wisely preserved intact by the Essex Institute, stands as a lesson to the modern historical preservationist.

92. Mumford, *Sticks and Stones*, pp. 26-27. Plate 1 is a photograph of the John Ward House in its restored location.

NOTES

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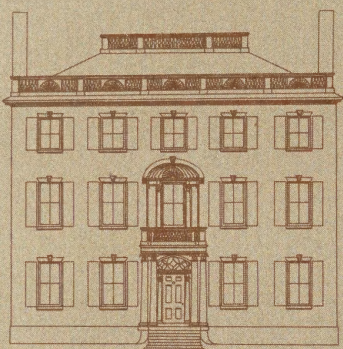


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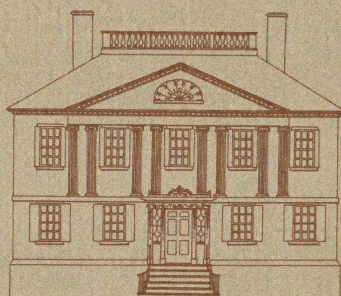


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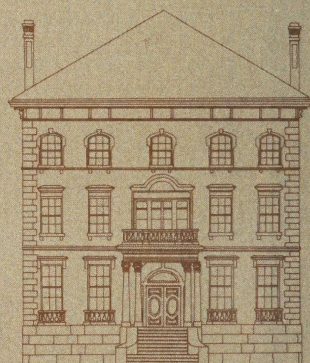
Historic House Booklet Series



Andrew-Safford




Assembly



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EDITED BY

Anne Farnam and Bryant F. Tolles, Jr.

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